

## Message Text

SECRET

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14/44

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W  
----- 047754

O P 091537Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 915

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T KHARTOUM 0084

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (GARBLED TEXT PARA 4)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OAU, AO, NI, SU, US

SUBJECT: ANGOLA

BEGIN SUMMARY: NIMEIRI'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT'S LETTER  
ON ANGOLA, PLUS FONMINISTER'S ORAL COMMENTS, MAKE CLEAR  
BOTH (A) GOS CONERN LEST SUDANESE RECOGNITION SET BACK  
NORMALIZATION USG/SUDANESE RELATIONS; (B) CONTINUED SUDANESE  
PREFERENCE FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BY THREE ANGOLAN FACTIONS;  
AND (C) SIMULTANEOUS GOS INABILITY IGNORE WHAT IT REGARDS  
AS IMPERATIVES OF AFRICAN POLITICS. SUDANESE MAY BE EXPECTED  
STILL SUPPORT SOME MODERATE COMPROMISE AT ADDIS OAU SUMMIT  
BUT FONMIN DOUBTS THIS LIKELY BE ACHIEVED. END SUMMARY.

1. FONMIN AHMED HANDED ME PRSDIENT NIMEIRI'S REPLY TO  
PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER MORNING JANUARY 9. LETTER ESSENTIALLY  
RESTATES POINTS NIMEIRI MADE ORALLY JAN 4 (KHARTOUM 0010  
NOTAL). TEXT SENT SEPTTEL DEPT ONLY.

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2. AHMED SAID HE WAS AWARE THAT NIGERIANS REGARDED PRESIDENT'S LETTER AS "OVERBEARING" AND ASKED IF NIMEIRI HAD RECEIVED IDENTICAL TEXT. I SAID IT WAS ESSENTIALLY SAME. FONMIN THEN EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT NIGERIAN REACTION, SINCE HE SAID NIMEIRI HAD FOUND PRESIDENT'S LETTER APPROPRIATE, UNDERSTANDING AND HELPFUL, EVEN THOUGH HE COULD NOT AGREE ON EVERY POINT.

3. DRAWING ON STATE 004271 AND 004845, I BRIEFED AHMED REGARDING OUR CURRENT ASSESSMENT SITUATION ON GROUND IN ANGOLA, INCLUDING INDICATIONS SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM FIGHTING FRONTS PRIOR OAU SUMMIT. TOLD AHMED WE ESTIMATED THAT TRIBES SUPPORTING UNITA AND FNLA CONTROLLED APPROXIMATELY SEVENTY PERCENT ANGOLAN TERRITORY AND POPULATION. WE DID NOT BELIEVE IN THIS SITUATION THAT MPLA COULD IMPOSE GOVERNMENT ON ALL ANGOLA, EVEN WITH 7,500 CUBANS TROOPS AND 400 SOVIET ADVISORS. USG SETTLED POLICY WAS TO SUPPORT NON-INTERVENTION AND SELF-DETERMINATION. HOWEVER, I DREW AHMED'S ATTENTION TO STATEMENT MPLA FONMIN RULING OUT RECONCILIATION AND NIGERIAN FONMIN'S COMMENT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD IN SUCH CASE NOT SUPPORT RECONCILIATION MOVE. (LAGOS 1249).

4. AHMED SAID HE HAD NOTED BOTH STATEMENTS. USG POLICY REMAINED ONE OF SEEKING RECONCILIATION AMONG THREE ANGOLAN FACTIONS. USG RECOGNITION MPLA BY NO MEANS LATERED THIS POSITION, NOR SHOULD IT BE READ AS ENDORSEMENT MPLA "IDEOLOGY". HOWEVER, HE FEARED OAU WOULD COME UP WITH SOME COMPROMISE UNSATISFACTORY TO ALL CONCERNED. I REPLIED ANGOLAN CRISIS SEEMED TO ME MOMENT OF TRUTH FOR OAU, AT LEAST IN EYES WESTERN OPINION. AFRICAN MODERATES, AMONG WHOM I NUMBERED SUDAN, NEEDED TO REINFORCE EXISTING STATESMANLIKE OAU POLICY ON ANGOLA LEST OTHERS CONCLUDE THE ORGANIZATION WAS INCAPABLE OF ACTING EFFECTIVELY IN FACE OF PATENT INTERVENTION IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS BY OUTSIDE MILITARY FORCES. FONMIN REPLIED HE FEARED PRESSURES AND DIVISIONS WITHIN ORGANIZATION MIGHT PROVE TOO GREAT TO PERMIT EFFECTIVE OAU ACTION. HE ASSURED ME SUDAN REMAINS MORE CONCERNED WITH DEVELOPING BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ITS FRIENDS, SUCH AS USG, THAN WITH MULTILATERAL ISSUE ON OTHER SIDE OF AFRICA ON WHICH IMPERATIVES AFRICAN POLICS DICTATED A PARTICULAR STAND. I INDICATED TO AHMED THAT USG, AS WORLD POWER, COULD NOT NECESSARILY MAKE SAME NEAT DIFFERENTIATIONS.

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5. COMMENT: SUDANESE OBVIOUSLY HAVE FOUND PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER HELPFUL AND APPROPRIATE. NIMEIRI'S RESPONSE IS BOTH CORDIAL AND UNDERSTANDING. HE EVIDENTLY FEELS GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WILL EMERGE IN ANGOLA IN DUE COURSE AND MEANWHILE CONTINUES SUPPORT STEPS TO HALT FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. WE EXPECT SUDAN TO BE MUTED BUT MODERATE FORCE AT OAU CONCLAVE.

6. FACT NIMEIRI'S LETTER HANDED ME IMMEDIATELY PRIOR  
RELEASE TO US OF KAGNEW 2 HOSTAGES SUGGESTS SUDANESE ARE  
CONCERNED LEST RECOGNITION MPLA SET BACK THEIR EFFORTS IMPROVE  
BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH US. ESSENTIAL MESSAGE SEEMS TO BE  
THAT WE MAY EXPECT CONTINUING SUDANESE HELPFULNESS  
ON BILATERAL ISSUES BUT THAT GOS, PARTICULARLY AS AN ARAB  
STATE IN AFRICA, CANNOT IGNORE IMPERATIVES AFRICAN POLITICS  
ONCE SOUTH AFRICA ENTERS THE EQUATION.  
BREWER

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NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, SUMMIT MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 09 JAN 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Subject:** ANGOLA BEGIN SUMMARY: NIMEIRI'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT'S LETTER  
**TAGS:** PFOR, AO, NI, SU, US, OAU, (NIMEIRI, JAFAR)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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